1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[78]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[78] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me [762] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places [184] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

finish our lesson walking about. As for the younger Mrs. Penri, the old witch would treat her as though she were dirt beneath her feet. It was not a happy family. No wonder the chief's former wife took her own life!

I began to wonder what I could do to appease her and make her treat me with more respect and good will, and I hit upon this plan, for I must either do something or change my lodgings and so lose a good teacher. I got up early one morning and, walking fifteen miles to a Japanese shop, bought a pound of tobacco and a pound of brown sugar. On returning with these, I began by giving her small doles of each. In a very few days we were the best of friends and I gained many a smile. All went smoothly after this. Although she would occasionally act like a testy child and give way to rampaging crossness, yet on the whole, peace reigned in the family and all went well, though, when eating, she always turned her back to us.

After being with Chief Penri for some time, I asked him if he could not put me up a small room to sleep in. Just one corner of his abode would do, only it must have a board floor for me to take my rest on. He soon got another old man to help him and the pair of them forthwith made me a place. When finished it measured six feet by nine. I caused them to put a ceiling to it to keep the soot off, and earwigs and other vermin from falling on me from the thatch with which the roof was covered. But sleeping on the floor in this place was far worse than on the raised platform I had used in the open hut, for the new place at once became a playground for the rats which trooped in and took their exercise there. I often felt them during the night chasing one another over my body. At my request the chief therefore set up rat traps about my person, in which we caught not a few. Vermin were a great pest when I came first to Ainu-land.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake.

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES

1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 831 578 out the poisoned arrow head, and then with wonderful daring apply her lips to the wound and endeavour to suck out the poison. These were brave deeds indeed, but, alas, all was in vain. Soon he died. From Yai-mah's very arms did his soul depart to the other world.

When Yai-mah saw that the spirit of her beloved husband had taken its departure to the other world she reverently arranged the body by the hearth. She placed some food and a cup of water near it. She then quickly washed her face, smoothed her hair, donned her best garments, put her earrings in her ears, fixed on her necklace and beads, and placed the little knife Kutri had given her in her bosom. She then knelt down by the side of the corpse and addressed it thus:

[162] "We were very happy here, you and I, in our love. But the time was all too short. The wicked enemy soon came here and by great foxy cunning and fiendish strategy succeeded in sending your soul away. He has caused you to depart from your handsome body and you are now a living spirit in the other world. You have been ever true to me, as I to you. I will come and be with you in that better world to which you have gone, where we shall be happy for evermore. Yea, where we shall never more be parted. Lo, I come! I come!" Having so said, Yai-mah immediately swallowed a big dose of Kutri's poison, made of aconite, lay down by his side and soon went away to be with him. Theirs was a true love, unswerving to the end. Their devotion in life and in death was wonderful!

When Wenku and his companions entered the hut a little later, they found the two stretched out dead side by side, by the hearth. One of Yai-mah's arms was resting over poor Kutri's wounded neck. It was a truly pathetic sight. But that wicked demon man, Wenku and his companions in evil were very much

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*) the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[966] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.